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Media, Violence and Terrorism in the Arab World : Critical Assessment (*)

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Introduction

At the beginning of the twenty first century terrorism has come to be regarded by government officials as the most important issue facing the world. It has also earned the attention of media, public opinion and social scientists especially after September 11, 2001. In response to this terrorist event the international community witnesses a huge number of conferences, seminars, websites and publications on global terrorism. "While these activities have dealt with terrorism in all of its complexities, there is yet to be an agreement on what terrorism is. The definition of terrorism has an impact on whether or not the perpetrators of an act of violence are labeled "criminals" "terrorists" or "freedom fighters" (Eke and Alali, 1991, 3). More importantly is the complex relationship between media, violence and terrorism. Communication scholars have yet to reach a theoretical framework for better understanding of the dynamic and intricate media-terrorism relationship and media policy options towards terrorism coverage.

In this respect, the Arab world has obviously occupied a special place in the international debate of terrorism. Many of the more dramatic and violent incidents of recent decades have been perpetrated either in the Middle East or elsewhere by groups involved in the domestic and inter-state conflicts in that region. Some Palestinian groups and others in the Arab world are defined by their opponents as terrorist bodies and therefore any act of legitimate resistance to liberate their occupied land from Israel must be terrorism by definition. Others, however, especially those who sympathies with there just cause, would regard them as freedom fighters (Shiva, 2001, 20). Furthermore, just after September11, 2001 terrorist attack, the world was set out to be divided into two groups; that, is pro U.S vs. anti U.S. Unfortunately the former was symbolized as " Christian group, while the latter was represented as " Arab group". This dichotomy means the world has been divided into two groups based on religion. Meanwhile, the U.S. government tended to define them into "good vs. evil", " peace vs. chaos", " and goodness vs. wildness".... etc (Baek, 2002, 1). More importantly is the fact that prior to September 11th the Western media have successfully created and perpetuated the impression that terrorism is rooted in Muslims and Arab Muslim people. Accordingly, national, regional and international counterterrorism cooperation remained a key element in the local as well as in foreign policy for many Arab states throughout the 1990s and the beginning of the third millennium.

It is worthy at the beginning of this report to empathize three facts: 1) certainly, the terrorist attacks against the Western countries are receiving a lot of attention in media and international public opinion as well as in the UN and international bodies. However, the terrorist attacks on civilian targets belonging to other, less powerful nations, specially in the Arab Palestinian occupied lands never received the same amount of international interest (Shukri, 1991, 19), 2) terrorism and violence are the most sensitive issues in the Arab world. They are related to the instability of the Arab social, political and economic environment, the military Israeli occupation of the Arab lands in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon as well as the interference of the U.S. in local affairs of the region and, 3) a significant gap exists between the importance of

terrorism in the Arab world and the rarity of scholarly work on this subject in general and in the field of communication in particular. This report reveals that, in the Arab world few studies tried to describe the media coverage of violence and terrorism and none attempted to investigate terrorism. The importance of the current study stems from the fact that in the majority of terrorist and violent acts, "the most important element in communication about terrorist acts is not the acts themselves but the meaning assigned to the acts by the media, authorities, and the populace. What is said about the acts and how the acts are interpreted play a greater role in determining the impact and significance than does the terrorism itself" (Robert, 1993, 19).

Purpose

The purpose of this report is 1) to present global synthesis and critical assessment of studies and publications on media, violence and terrorism in the Arab world during the four- year period of January 1998 to December 2001. 2) to offer a brief abstract of each research study and detailed bibliography of resources. It also presents suggestions for further investigations and recommendations. The media as used in this report include newspapers, magazines, books, radio, television, films, the Internet, information and communication networks and satellite television.

The report was prepared in response to terms of reference provided by UNESCO as follows:

1) Carry out desk research to identify the following: the kinds of research studies and scholarly publications carried out in the subject – area in the Arab region during the four- year period of January 1998- December 2001; the main focus of each study and scholarly identified and the research questions/issues investigated/discussed; the conceptual /theoretical background and research methods used; the study's main findings, conclusions and recommendations; the study's and scholarly publication's contribution to knowledge /understanding in the subject area (if any).

2) Prepare a report (of not more than 20 standard pages) on the investigation. The report should present global synthesis and critical assessment of the research studies and scholarly publications examined; the main trends identified; and a brief abstract of each research study and scholarly publication analyzed. The report should discuss the sources of information and approach used in preparing the report and bibliographic information on all studies and publications examined. It should also present suggestions for further investigations and recommendations for further work in the subject-area.

Research Method

Relevant research studies as well as scholarly publications carried out on media, violence and terrorism in the Arab world from January 1998 to December 2001 were collected and reviewed. Although this report is dedicated to reviewing Arab published studies during this period, we reviewed other scholarly works published either before 1998 or in 2002 because of its relevance. Furthermore, most Arab relevant communication publications on the subject appeared in 2002. We feel the report has to include these publications. Three types of data were used in this report. First,

relevant literature on terrorism, written in English, was collected and analyzed. The second kind of data covers the literature on violence and the third consists of a few research papers and publications, which were found dealing with media and terrorism and violence. The sources of this scholarly work include refereed journals, books, conferences 'papers, library databases, and online documents. **Basically, this report is based on the assumption that whereas the Arab world has been accused throughout the history as a violence and terrorism - producing environment especially after September 11 2001, Arab communication scholars have yet to participate in any type of research that seriously examines the communication implications of violence and terrorism.** This situation has resulted in an obvious failure to deal with some critical questions concerning the distortion of the Arab image in the West and the coordination of counter- terrorism efforts. However, violence and terrorism have historically been examined from different Arab angles, political, social, religious and legal.

Consequently, this report has been based on the Western writings especially the American. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, Arab communication scholars have recently- and definitely after September11- started their efforts to tackle the topic of media and terrorism and most of the their work has focused on describing Arab media coverage of the terrorist acts. The second reason is that Arab published and unpublished work - unlike in other regions- is not available online or in databases. The Arab literature has been collected by personal contact, especially through e-mail communication between the researcher and the authors, writers and Arab communication scholars. The third reason is that research on media, violence and terrorism is most advanced in the US and has developed many tentative hypotheses and theories that can help in offering new research opportunities, research methods, questions as well as theoretical issues for future Arab research on the subject.

Critical Assessment of Research and Theories of Terrorism

This part presents global synthesis and critical assessment of research as well as theories of terrorism. The discussion first focuses on the macro international view and then proceeds to the Arab Islamic perspective on terrorism. It is believed that a comparative analysis between world and Arab views will help clarify the common grounds as well as the differences and thus serve as an explanatory tool for reviewing Arab media- terrorism literature. A critical assessment of media, violence and terrorism literature has been given a priority at the end of this part.

1) Violence and Terrorism: A World View

A variety of Western theories have been offered as to why individuals and groups resort to terrorism as a tactic to achieve their goals. One major approach argues that deprivation, oppression, and frustration result in terrorism as individuals strive to better their social conditions. A corollary argument is that terrorism arises when the rights of individuals are not protected and individuals persecuted by those with power react violently (Robert, 1993, 9). This school of thought may explain a number of domestic as well as international terrorism. However; it does not give a cohesive framework for the conditions and the mediating variables under which those individuals react peacefully or violently. A second school of thought embraces the

view that terrorism arises when groups are unable to attain their goals through existing social and political structures. A third view holds that terrorism arises when government loses control of society and anarchy erupts (Robert, 1993, 9). Our view is that these schools of thought reflect the Western way of thinking about terrorism and as such they also explain the methods and approaches the West is currently employing in the course of counter- terrorism campaign.

" One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". As this statement suggests, it is nearly impossible to provide universally acceptable definition of terrorism. The definitions are varied as cultures, politics, and human thinking around the world (Siddiqi, 2002, 1). The term "terrorism" has neither a precise definition, nor one, which is widely acceptable. Terrorism is defined by the nature of the act, not by the identity of the perpetrators. All terrorist acts involve violence or threat of violence, often coupled with specific demands. Violence is directed mainly against civilian targets, however, the motive is political. Violent actions are carried out in a way that will achieve maximum publicity. The perpetrators are usually members of organized groups, and unlike other criminals, they often claim credit for the act (Reddy, 2001, 32).
Schmid and De Graaf (1982, 175) also distinguish terroristic violence from ordinary violence between two conflicting parties by introducing a third party. Since normally only two of the three concerned parties are present at the scene of terroristic violence, communication is required to involve the third party. This communication can take place via the media but that is not a necessary prerequisite. There was terrorism before the advent of the media and the most widespread type of terrorism, state terrorism, still largely works without the media. Cooper defines terrorism after 25 years of teaching about the topic in a university setting as " the intentional generation of massive fear by human beings for the purpose of securing or maintaining control over other human beings (Cooper, 2001, 883). Robert (1993, Ix) also concludes that much of media coverage on terrorism appeared to lack objectivity and define terrorism by who committed acts of violence rather than what acts were committed. Thus, violent acts by groups opposed by political leaders or the media would be labeled terrorism and the perpetrators called terrorists. But similar acts by groups supported by political leaders or media would not be so characterized. Bearing in mind that not all violence is terrorism, but all terrorism is violence, there is a framework for defining terrorism as the use of force or the threat of force directed against innocent third parties for primarily ideological, financial, or psychological purposes. When political terrorists strike out at innocent third parties, their real intent is the destabilization of governments and a demoralization or even panic among the public at large. Anyone can be a potential victim, for the idealist and the radical liberationist; no one is truly innocent (Reddy, 2001, 42).

In general, the term terrorism as used in Western literature denotes a particular type of violence. It is not employed as a synonym for politically motivated violence. Terrorism has, as Wilkinson states, five distinguishing characteristics: 1) it is premeditated and designed to create a climate of extreme fear, 2) it is directed at a wider target than the immediate victims, 3) it inherently involves attacks on random or symbolic targets including civilians, 4) it is considered by the society in which it occurs as extra-normal; that is in the literal sense that it violates the norms regulating disputes, protest and dissent and, 5) it is used primarily, though not exclusively, to influence the political behavior of governments, communities or specific social

groups. The weapon of terror is used extensively by both sub-state and state actors in the international system (Wilkinson, 1997, 51). Encyclopedia Britannica also defines terrorism as: "The systemic use of violence to generate a general climate of fear in a population and thereby bring about a particular political objective" (cited in Siddiqui, 2002, 5).

In our view which is in line with other scholars' vision (Siddiqui, 2002, 5) these definitions are representative of the dominant thinking in the US and most developed countries. However, in the rest of the world definitions of terrorism tend to differ mainly because it is considered a by-product of political, cultural, and economic hegemony of the US and its allies. Many wonder why terrorism is illegal and militarism is legal while the effect of both is collateral damage and loss of innocent human lives. This crucial point will be discussed in details in later sections of the article.

2) Arab Islamic View: Expanding the Concept of Terrorism

In the era of globalization and Internet with its extreme and dramatic transformations, terrorism took different forms, techniques and objectives. Mansoori (2001, cited in Siddique, 2002, 6) explains the complexity of this phenomenon by classifying terrorism into seven major categories: 1) military terrorism; stronger military powers terrorizing weaker nations, 2) political terrorism; use of violence to bring about a political change, 3) information and media related terrorism; use of media to spread misinformation and lies in order to malign and punish a people or a nation causing massive destruction of innocent human lives, 4) bio-terrorism; causing large-scale destruction of human life by spreading viruses and destructive bacteria, 5) chemical and nuclear terrorism; using chemical and nuclear weapons to kill large number of people, 6) economic terrorism; using extreme economic and trade measures to cause massive imbalance in world economy thereby causing large-scale faming, poverty and death and, 7) racial terrorism; ethnic cleaning or genocide. According to this perspective media people have to expand their coverage to many international activities that must be considered as terrorist acts. There is no doubt that narrowing the concept of terrorism to just include the terrorist incidents of some groups regardless of their identity would mislead any world campaign to combat terrorism. Therefore, from the Arab Islamic point of view two theories can be discussed.

The Terroristic Occupation Theory, this view considers the occupation of other's territories as the highest level of terrorism that violates international laws, conventions and ethics, challenges the stability of the international system and terrorizes the civilians of the occupied territories. Accordingly, the Israeli occupation has to be regarded as the worst form of international terrorism today that terrorizes the Arab Palestinian civilians and precludes any sort of development, stability and peace in Palestine and the Arab region. The occupier consciously perpetrates against the inhibitions of the occupied lands most of the seven categories classified earlier by Mansoori. Furthermore, any form of legitimate resistance of the civilians is not more than a legal reaction or natural response for the original action of occupation. The occupier is by definition a terrorist, and any violent act against the Palestinian has to be identified as terrorism. Meanwhile, any military, financial, political or other support provided to the occupier must be condemned by the international community as it encourages terrorism and strengthens its massive terrorist control of the occupied

people especially when they lack equal military weapons to defend their dignity, land and freedom. In contrast, any Palestinian legitimate resistance with the purpose of liberating the occupied land has to be viewed as legal, and the actors should be considered as freedom fighters. In this respect, Arab Human Development Report (2002, 1) states that Israel's illegal occupation of Arab lands is one of the most obstacles to security and progress in the Arab region. The human cost of occupation extends beyond the considerable loss of lives and livelihoods of direct victims.

The terroristic occupation theory supports what Reddy has suggested: any definition adopted will have to be couched in universal, and not in pro - Western, terms. Although especially constituted UN committees have continually condemned acts of international terrorism in principles, they have exempted from the definition such acts that derive from the inalienable right to self - determination and independence of all peoples under colonial domination and the legitimacy of their struggle, in particular the struggle of national liberation movements in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations (Reddy, 2001, 36).

In line with the above considerations, the joint Arab version prepared by the Arab experts, in implementation of the Arab League Resolution No. 4781, defined terrorism as " any organized act of violence or threat which poses a state of panic through murder, assassination, hostage taking, air crafts or ship hijackings, explosions as well as any other act of terror, disorder or disturbance aiming at the achievement of political objectives whether undertaken by a state or individuals against another state or individuals in circumstances other than the legitimate national armed struggle for self determination against foreign control or colonial or racial forces etc., particularly the liberation movements organized by regional organizations, the U.N. and the international community whose activities are directed against the military and economic targets of the colonization forces or occupier within territories. (Al Mualla, 1998, 26). The author, therefore, believes that it is important to expand the concept of terrorism to include any violation for international law, human rights laws, the resolutions of U.N. and Security Council and the right for self-determination.

The Global Injustice Theory of Terrorism, this theory explains international terrorism as any abuse of the military forces of the super power in the unipolar international system and the absolute or relevant absence of the global justice. Forms of the global injustice impinge upon the violation of international law through allies initiated by the super power and other Western countries against Arab and Muslim countries or other developing nations. Zinn (2002, 22) came to a conclusion that we had reached a point in human history when there was probably no longer a possibility of waging a just war, because the overwhelming technology of modern warfare inevitability involves the killings of many people.

To clarify the global injustice theory of terrorism it is imperative to emphasize the idea that to explain and understand terrorism is not to justify it. The vast majority of Muslims in the Middle East were as shocked and horrified as any American by what they saw on TV on September 11, 2001. However, Muslims and Arabs from Cairo to Jakarta do not share the American administration's view that the perpetrators did what they did because "they hate our freedom". Rather they say a mood of resentment towards USA and its behavior around the world has become so commonplace in their

countries that it was bound to breed hostility, and even hatred. (Ford, 2001, 15). It is believed that for Arabs and Muslims, America does not mean freedom and democracy, instead it means F-16, M-16, Apache Helicopters and other military tools Israelis use to kill Palestinians and destroy their homes, nation, and hope. "Arabs see September 11 as tragedy of people who are behind the tragedy of their own" (Christison, 2002).

It is also evident that terrorist acts against Western targets are perpetrated by individual groups, while terrorist attacks on non-Western targets are perpetrated by "states" mostly through armed forces, which make damages extensively greater in victims and assets (Shukri, 1991, 19). Another difference is that according to the Western –tailored definition of terrorism, what counts for an act to be classified as terroristic is the doer, i.e., the individual's belonging to sub-state groups. In contrast, Arab Islamic view considers acts of terrorism regardless of the actors as the determining factor of the nature of terrorism. In this respect, Penny Green (2002, 77) concludes that attacks against Afghanistan by America and Britain represent far more than reasonable retaliation for the crimes committed on September 11. They represent the exercise of state terror by super –powerful states. The violations of human rights in pursuit of Western economic and military interests leave no doubt that the U.S. and the U. K. governments are indeed guilty of state crimes in Afghanistan. From the international law point of view, war against Afghanistan is a violation of international law and of the expressed words of the Charter of the United Nations. As such it is illegal. It is also immoral and it won't prevent terrorism. The Security Council passed two resolutions on terrorism between September 11 and American's attack on Afghanistan on October 7 (SR 1368 of September 12 and SR 1373 of September 28). No honest reading of these could possibly conclude that they authorize the use of force. They condemn the attacks of September 11 and take a whole host of measures to suppress terrorism. But not once does either of these resolutions mention military force or anything like it. They do not even mention Afghanistan by name (Mandel, 2002, 77).

The divergence between Western and Arab Islamic views of terrorism does not deny the fact that Arab and Muslim states are also responsible for the spreading of terrorism phenomenon that arises as a result of the low level of democratic practice, the restricted freedom of expression, political stagnation, social injustice and bureaucratic corruption. Contrary to the theoretical model rooted in the Quran, most governments and power structures in Arab and Muslim world are based on secrecy, exclusion, manipulation, coercion and authoritarianism (Pasha, 1993, 57). Some of these governments repress Islamic and other opposition groups in order to prevent the real political change. To make it clear, it is believed that most of violent and terrorist acts in the Middle East are due to a number of causes: 1) Israeli's illegal occupation of Palestinian and other Arab lands and the violation of all UN and Security Council resolutions in this regard, 2) the US' attempts to criminalize the legitimate resistance of the Palestinian people, regardless of its just cause, while turning a blind eye on the "evil deeds" of Israel in the Palestinian occupied lands. U.S administration knows very well that Israel deprive the Palestinians their basic human rights of self-determination, and leave them with no other way to fight back except through violence directed against their oppressors or the sympathizers of those oppressors, 3) the double standard in implementing the international law and the employing the forces of the super power against the powerless countries mainly Muslims and Arab

countries- the injustice of new unipolar world order-, 4) restrictions imposed on civil and political freedoms in Arab and Muslim countries and the dominance of the politically repressive atmosphere which inhibits any real peaceful political change and preserves the status quo. In other words, it is believed that three major obstacles are clearly explaining violence and terrorism not only in the Arab world but also throughout the world. These obstacles are: a) the Israeli occupation for Arab lands and its terroristic control over Palestinian people, land and possessions, b) the illegal interference at the domestic affairs of powerless nations by some major powers, especially US. - according to a 1997 Defense Science Board Report, historical data show a strong correlation between U S involvement in international situations and an increase in terrorist acts against the US (Zinn, 2002, 14), and c) lack of democracy and human freedoms in the Arab and Islamic world, - out of seven world regions, the Arab countries had the lowest freedom score in the late 1999s- (Arab Human Development Report, 2002, 27). However, one has to better understand the lowest freedom score in the Arab world as partially an outcome of both the external threat of Israeli occupation and the political and economic dependence on the West. Arab peoples would not be completely free from their governments' control unless the latter would be free from the control of Western governments and also free from the external threat of Israel. Anyhow, without dealing seriously with these three obstacles terrorism would remain and earn public support.

Arab Political Research on Violence and Terrorism

For better understanding of media-terrorism literature in the Arab world, it is essential to critically examine the Arab official political position on terrorism as well as some of the political research on terrorism. Ibrahim (1999, 46) an Arab political sciences scholar who has conducted many studies on political violence and terrorism in the Arab region sees the concept of political violence as comprising different types of behaviors and practices that imply the real use or threat to use power to cause any injury or harm to individuals or to damage public and private possessions in order to attain political, economic, social or cultural goals. These actions can be individual, or collective, declared or undercover, organized or random. It might be either an official violence practiced by governments against their citizens, manifested in actions such as: detention, imprisonment or termination or a popular violence practiced by the citizens against the ruling regime such as events of riots, rebellion, assassination, coups d'etat and revolutions. Despite the plausibility of this concept and its applicability to different forms of political violence and terrorism acts, it does not cover the forms of organized international political violence induced and encouraged by the state against one another and their inhabitants. As a result, the concept tends to be confined to domestic political violence. Accordingly it does not give an explanation for the roots of the internal Arab violence, which is to large extent symptoms to external factors such as the Israeli political violence against the Palestinians and the intended absence of the global justice in managing the Middle East question. It is this question that perpetuates the hostility between Arab and Muslim world and the West. Muslims have the right to believe that if the West has a real intention to put an end for the Israeli 35 year occupation, it will force Israel to comply with the international law and eliminate its brutal occupation. Muslims also are wondering why does the West use its military power against the illegitimate Iraqi occupation of Kuwait while support Israel to violate all U.N and Security Council resolutions concerning the Arab Palestinian occupied territories? Why the US and the

international community disarm Iraq while turning a blind eye on Israeli mass destruction weapons. The last but not least is the American airstrike against Afghanistan, which has financially, politically, and military been supported by the West and surely taking a far greater toll of innocent lives. These events provide sound and unavoidable explanations for the Arab political violence. What the author would like to stress is that any academic research on violence and terrorism in the Arab world would be of little use if it does not consider the international macro approach that helps explain the interplay between the global and domestic encouraging terroristic environments.

Most significant for the present discussion is the official Islamic position toward terrorism and violence as reflected in the Islamic Summit Conference held at Casablanca during the first half of December 1994. The conference announced a code of conduct, including the following: 1) to declare that Islam is innocent of all forms of terrorism that involves the assassination of innocent people as it is prohibited by God, 2) to strongly condemn the perpetrators of those serious crimes which are committed under the plea of implementing Islam or any other justification, 3) to confirm that the struggle of peoples under colonial or foreign control or occupation for realization of their right for self- determination does not constitute an act of terrorism (Al Mualla, 1998, 30). The primary meaning of word " Jihad" which is one of the five " pillars" of Islam is the difficult effort that is needed to put God's will into practice at every level - personal and social as well as political. A very important and much quoted tradition has the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) telling his companions as they go home after a battle, " We are returning from the lesser jihad (the battle) to the greater jihad" the far more urgent and momentous task of extirpating wrongdoing from one's own society and one's own heart. Islam condemns any person who is fanatical or extremist and insists on moderation, and tolerance towards one another and other non-Muslims. (2: 143) and (22: 40). In the Quran, the only permissible war is one of self – defense. Muslims may not begin hostilities (Taher, 1997, 67).

3) Media, Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Relationship?

As incidents of terrorism have risen, so has the interest of communication scholars all over the world- except in the Arab world - who have attempted to understand media's relations to terrorism. This is partially attributable to the fact that many have come to view terrorism as a form of communication. Thus it is necessary to examine the communicative impact of terrorism. This is primarily done by investigating the manner in which the media report the terrorist's act. Both terrorists and researchers have vested interests in determining which labels are positively perceived, and when each is used (Simmons, 1991, 23). The interest of communication scholar in examining the communication implications of terrorism is based on a vision that terrorism can best be understood as a violent communication strategy. There is a sender, the terrorist, a message generator, the victim, and a receiver, the enemy, and/or the public. The nature of the terrorist act, its atrocity, its location and the identity of its victim serve as generators for the power of the message. Violence, to become terroristic requires witnesses (Robert, 1993: x, 4).

Whereas there seems to be no argument about the impact of media coverage of news on its audiences, the same is not true concerning its impact on "terrorists". On this matter, there are at least two major schools of thought. Proponents of the first school

contend that media coverage of terrorist events has a contagion effect. "Terrorism is a product of freedom, particularly, of freedom of press". Reporting terrorism is likely to increase terrorist activities, without communication there can be no terrorism (cited in Eki and Alali, 1991, 8). The effects of media according to the first school can be classified as awareness, contagion, and interference. Interference may involve direct physical involvement in an event, such as a reporter mediating between terrorists and police, or indirect pressure on officials to end the violence or threat. The second type is the contagion effect. The term contagion implies that terrorism spreads, sometimes by other means but most often through the media. The third type is awareness. The diffusion concept of media would seem to support the idea that media coverage increases public awareness of terrorism. There are also those who accept general diffusion theory as having relevance to the spread of terrorism. In this case, one has to hypothesize that media may play a role in the awareness aspect of the adoption process of terrorism, but only a minor part in the evaluative, acceptance, and adoption portions of the diffusion of terrorist techniques (cited in Simmons, 1991, 23). Viewing the media as powerful and effective leads to two conclusions: the media are likely to spread terror and, therefore, they ought to be controlled in some way (Barnhurst, 1991, 113).

The second major school of thought argues, "There is no clear evidence that publicity (by the media) is responsible for significantly affecting the occurrence of terrorism". When, carefully dissecting the terrorism literature, one finds that it contains no credible evidence that media are an important factor in inducing and diffusing terrorist acts. As one reviews the literature, it becomes shockingly clear that not a single study based on accepted social science research methods has established a cause-effect relationship between media coverage and the spread of terrorism. Yet public officials, scholars, editors, reporters, and columnists continually link the two elements and present their relationship as proven (Simmons, 1991, 23). A few writers from diverse quarters oppose placing blame on the media. They instead support the view that the media are victims of terrorism. They argue that erasing terrorism is a juridical and ethical question, not a question of the media (Barnhurst, 1991, 118). Still, there is another school of thought claiming that media coverage may actually reduce the possibility of future violent action on the part of those who engage in terroristic violence by removing the need for individuals and groups to resort to violence in order to gain coverage (Simmons, 1991, 23).

Literature review shows that expert opinion on terrorism and media can be crudely divided into two schools. The great majority of authorities consider the media culpable of some degree of terrorism. A scattered few take issue, arguing that the media are vulnerable to but not responsible for terrorism (Barnhurst, 1991, 118) The dearth of evidence associating the two variables is not the result of conflicting studies or arguments over interpretation of evidence, but rather the inexplicable absence of research on the subject. Some scholars have attempted to overcome that problem by borrowing conclusions from the literature of the effects of televised violence and crime on viewers and then projecting similar effects to coverage of terrorism. (Simmons, 1991, 23). Paletz and Boiney (1992) have offered similar conclusions when they state that many works indict the media without offering much more than exhortations or normal solutions to the problems identified. The vast majority of indictment literature argues that the media willingly or unwillingly encourage terrorism and/or obstruct attempts to fight it. The media are indicted in two fronts.

First, they are accused of facilitating many if not all of the terrorists' objectives. Second, their presence at and reporting of particular incidents of terrorism are blamed for damaging effects. However, original data systematically marshaled to support these arguments are rare (Paletz and Boiney, 1992: 10, 12). This conclusion offers support to Schimed who indicated that neither terrorism nor the media are monolithic. The media include television, radio, print, and so on. Some media outlets are privately owned, others are publicly owned. They are more or less insulated from government control or influence. Their content, encompassing fiction, nonfiction, and various formats, can differ both within and between countries. Similarly, terrorism comprises various types of people, motives, and deeds. (Schimed, 1988, cited in Paletz and Boiney). As Schimed and a few others reminds us, ethnic, nationalist, and social revolutionary terrorists are not synonymous. The extent to which any of them uses or benefits from media coverage depends upon many factors, not all of which have been adequately explored in the literature. (Paletz and Boiney, 1992, 22). In line with the above conclusions Robert (1993) the author of "Media Portrayals of Terrorism" and the director of the Terrorism and the News Media Research Project for the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Mass Communication and Society Division concludes: after five years of study, nearly every member of research group has come to the conclusion that media do not cause terrorism, but can make it worse by poor reporting practices, by allowing themselves to be manipulated by interested parties, and by not giving audiences a better understanding of the issue (Robert, 1993, x, 4).

Media Functions and Terrorism

For which purposes do the terrorists use the media? What gratifications terrorists satisfy by using media? Wilkinson (1997) identified four objectives: 1) to convey the propaganda of the deed and to create extreme fear among their target groups, 2) to mobilize support for their cause among the general population and international opinion by emphasizing such themes as the righteousness of their cause and the inevitability of their victory, 3) to frustrate and disrupt the response of the government and security forces, 4) to mobilize, incite and boost their constituency of actual and potential supporters and in so doing to increase recruitment, raise more funds and inspire further attacks (Wilkinson, 1997, 54). There are two areas in particular, however, where a clear causal relationship between terrorism and the attention it receives from the media impacts negatively on public and governmental behaviors. The first is the public's perception of personal risk from terrorism, and the consequent effect on willingness to travel; the second is the time pressures imposed by the media under which governments confronted with terrorist created crises labor (Hoffman, 1998, 148,). It is also obvious that extensive coverage by the media of acts of terrorism serve functions similar to those provided by media presentation of violence in general. Typically isolated from their historical and social context, denied description of condition or cause, and portrayed as unpredictable and irrational, if not insane (Milburn et al, 1987 in Gerbner, 1988 26). The relationship between publicity and terror is indeed paradoxical and complicated. Publicity focuses attention on a group, strengthening its morale and helping to attract recruits and sympathizers. But publicity is pernicious to the terrorist groups too. It helps an outraged public to mobilize its vast resources and produces information that the public needs to pierce the evil of secrecy all terrorist groups require (Hoffman, 1998, 155,). Regardless of the kind of functions served by media when they report on terrorism it would be

wrong to deny that many modern terrorists and certain sections of the media can appear to become locked in a relationship of considerable mutual benefits. The former wants to appear on prime time TV to obtain not only massive possibly world wide publicity but also the aura of legitimating that such media attention gains for them in the eyes of their own followers and sympathizers. For the media organizations the coverage of terrorism especially prolonged incidents provides an endless source of sensational and visually compelling news stories capable of boosting audience/readership figures (Wilkinson, 1997, 52).

It has been suggested that terrorists commit violence in quest of three universal goals- to get attention, recognition, and even a degree of respectability and legitimacy. Brigitti study presents evidence of strong relationship 1) between terrorism coverage and the American public's agenda and 2) between news reporting and the public's collective attitudes toward terrorism (Nacos, 1994, 13). In dealing with the relationship between terrorism and the media, the most useful approach is to attempt to understand the terrorist's view of the problem of communication. It cannot be denied that although terrorism has proved remarkably ineffective as the major weapon for toppling governments and capturing political power, it has a remarkably successful means for publicizing a political cause and relaying the terrorist threat to a wider audience. When one says " terrorism" in a democratic society, one also says" media". For a terrorism by its name is a psychological weapon which depends upon communicating a threat to the wider society. This essence is why terrorism and the media enjoy a symbiotic relationship (Wilkinson, 1997, 54).

Arab Media – Terrorism Literature: A Critical View

As I stated earlier, a significant gap exists between two phenomena: 1) the proliferation and intensity of terrorism and violence acts in recent decades with an international emphasis on charging the Arab world as the source of this phenomenon and its mass loss and damage and, 2) the rarity of the number of research studies devoted to understanding the complexity of the incidents of terrorism from the Arab point of view. This gap represents the first feature of Arab media- terrorism literature. The second is that it has recently received very little academic attention initiated by some communication researchers from the faculty of mass communication at Cairo University as well as some minor attention at some other Arab schools of mass communication, 3) the focus of Arab literature is on the question of how media cover the violent and terrorist acts, and the how Western media portray Arab image, 4) many studies on terrorism-related issues have been conducted by non Arab scholars. Urgently needed is serious and systemic research that collects, analyzes, compares and tests empirical information from the media practitioners, media content, media audiences, terrorists, policemen, governmental officials among others to help interpret complex aspects of the media-terrorism relationship.

The Aqsa Intifada has received some attention from both Arab and American researchers. In her research on "Egyptian Newspaper Coverage of Palestinian Intifada" El Tarabishi (2002, 35) analyzed three Egyptian leading newspapers from the period of September 29, 2000 to May 1, 2001. These newspapers include the leading national newspaper; Al-Ahram Newspaper, A partisan newspaper, Al-Wafad, and Al-Osbooa, one of the Egyptian private newspapers. The content analysis focuses on the variables of news stories, investigative reports, editorial articles, interviews,

cartoons, and columns among other writings forms, in addition to sources used in stories and event actor, types of issues. El Tarabishi concludes that the three newspapers place great emphasis on the developments of the Israeli terrorist and aggressive military attacks against the Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories. One of the important findings of this research is that the three newspapers depend heavily on their correspondents as the main source of information on the events of Intifada. Also Daniel (1997, 65) found in her research "U.S. Media Coverage of the Intifada and American Public Opinion" that several interrelated frames have been used to present the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through the news media, including the cold war frame, the terrorist frame, the Jew as historical victim. More importantly is that the dichotomous good/evil framework naturally encourages the audience to be identified with the good. Of course, then, for the U.S. audience, Israel is a natural ally in the narrative because it encourages the U.S. public aligns itself with preservatives forces of good and democracy. The Judeo- Christian roots of a majority of the U. S. population form one of these bases for such an identification, and the rational of having a "big stick" in the Middle East to protect U. S. interests. Even entertainment's portrayal of Palestinians has serious implications for political action. As symbols of Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the steady stream of negative images affects American public opinion and subsequently, U. S. foreign policy (Daniel, 1997, 67).

Arab Image Research: Misleading Terrorist Image

Just after the bombing of the World Trade Center, a number of officials suggested to the press: "that Osama bin-Laden was responsible" The newly appointed Director of the FBI accused nineteen suicide bombers and mobilized all the facilities of his agency and intelligence services to hunt for the perpetrators. Some coordination efforts were made for chasing those men who became - in the eyes of the Americans- the target of hunt for everything Arab, to the extent that some inciters assaulted or killed Arabs for being responsible for the attacks (Meyssan, 2002). The stereotyping Arab image that Western media are historically and currently presenting about Arabs has had dangerous effects on justifying aggressive acts against Arabs including the military aggression and on mobilizing the international public opinion to accept any allegations- whether they are true or false- against Arabs and also affects the diffusion of the American media perspective toward Arabs among other European media without any attempt to maintain a neutral, critical and independent position. (Baek, 2002, 10).

Communication literature provides hundreds of evidences on the above-mentioned conclusion, however, I will focus on recent studies. Pollock and Artz (1997, 28) found in their research entitled "Limiting the Options: Anti-Arab Images in U.S. Media Coverage of the Persian Gulf Crisis" that public support for the American offensive in the Persian Gulf was promoted by media employment of culturally acceptable anti-Arab images. This claim is based on a survey of headlines, photographs, captions, and cartoon regarding the Gulf conflict and more specifically on editorial cartoons published in the Chicago Tribune, Chicago Sun-Times, Los Angeles Times, the New York Times, and Newsweek from August to December 1990. A rhetorical analysis of the dominant images in these media supports the above claim. First, the media reduced a complex, geopolitical situation to the motives of Saddam Hussein. Second, to demonize Hussein the media simply retrieved standard anti -Arab stereotypes from popular culture and therefore, the media's symbolic aggression conditioned the

American public for the military aggression that was to follow. Kamalipour (1997) draws the same conclusion in his research entitled "Media Images of Arabs, Muslims, and the Middle East in the US". He found that the violence and terrorist acts including, the TWA explosion, the Oklahoma City bombing, the U.S. embassy bombings, and the 1996 Olympic bombing and also the Gulf War provide many lessons of the relationship between media and terror and violence acts including media dependency on the government and vice versa, as well as propaganda techniques aimed at manipulating public opinion, reinforcing and globalizing stereotypical images of the Arabs and manufacturing or altering public perception. Other lessons are that, in the final analysis, when it comes to politics and a nation's self interest, ordinary citizens do not matter. Finally, media portrayals of peoples, places, and events become perceptions, and perceptions become realities. These stereotypes or mindsets then become the bases for human interactions.

Hamada (2001) conducted his research entitled "Arab Image in the Minds of Western Image-Makers" and interviewed the Western image-makers to investigate how they perceive the image of Arabs, the factors they think are responsible for creating and perpetuating such an image, and the negative consequences they believe the image serves. The most prominent finding indicated from the statistical analysis is the dominance of the negative Arab image among Western image-makers. For example, 85.7% said that Arabs are fundamentalists, 78% perceives Arabs as anti West, and 69% claimed that Arabs are aggressive. The same percentage states that Arabs are terrorists. As for the values Western image makers think Arabs are promoting, findings obtained from Hamada's research show that 97% of Western image makers see that fundamentalism is the main value Arabs are promoting, 54%, said that violence is the basic value of Arabs, while 40% notes terrorism as the value that Arabs promote. Most important is the negative consequences of the Arab image. Western image- makers (media professional) were asked: what do you personally think are the negative consequences of a distorted Arab image? The great majority 87% said that a distorted Arab image justify any armed aggression against Arabs, and 81% said it may mobilize international public opinion to act against Arabs. Slightly more than three-quarters of the surveyed Western journalists reported the threat to Arab security and the isolation of Arabs as negative consequences of the biased image. This research has clearly proved that Western image-makers have biased, false, and distorted images of Arabs and Muslims.

With regard to the coverage of Arab media of the terrorist acts in the Arab world, Abo Elela's research (1996) entitled "The Social Responsibility of the Egyptian Press: A comparative Study for the Communicator and Content of National and Partisan Press" focuses on the content analysis of both national and partisan press toward some important terrorist acts in Egypt. Two national newspapers (Al Ahram and Al Akhbar) as well as three partisan newspapers (Al Wafad, Al Shaab, and Al Ahali) were analyzed to determine how the terrorist acts were covered during the period of 1991- 1994. The research concentrates on the value of objectivity as reflected in the coverage of selected newspapers to some terrorist acts that took place in Egypt during the 1990s. A systematic sample of 220 newspaper issues was drawn from the national and partisan press containing 305 news items. Abo Elela concludes that the coverage of the Egyptian press for the terrorist acts tends to be unbalanced and biased. He also points out that the Egyptian press did not have a neutral position towards the terrorist incidents, which should be forced to keep in press coverage. However, Al Wafad

newspaper tends to be more objective, independent in portraying the incidents of terrorism compared to either the national or the opposition newspapers. He attributed the relative lack of objectivity in Egyptian press's coverage to terrorism-related issues to the negative impact of the media-government relationship in Egypt. The media are generally working under different kinds of political restrictions and Journalists-self censorship. Government officials tend to use the media to manage the crises of the terrorist acts so as to deter potential terrorists or prevent them from releasing their views before the public (Abo Elela, 1996, 36, 369).

Salah El-Dein's research (2002) entitled "The Role of media in Shaping Knowledge and Attitudes of the Egyptian Public Opinion Toward Terrorism: An Integrative Approach" is one of studies that seeks to examine the intricacies underlying the relation between Egyptian media and the cognitions and attitudes of public opinion. His research reveals support to three hypotheses: 1) there is positive correlation between the intensive exposure to the news media and the knowledge of the audience about terrorism in general and September11, 2001 in particular, 2) there is positive correlation between the intensive exposure to the news media and the attitudes toward terrorism in general and September 11, 2001 in particular, 3) there is positive correlation between the intensive exposure to news media and the favorable evaluation of the performance of the Egyptian authorities in regard to terrorism, and 4) respondents attribute terrorism to general factors rather than to specific causes. Salah El-Din's research also indicates that Egyptian TV is the first source of information about terrorism followed directly by Egyptian journalism and radio.

Abd El-Gaffar (2002) uses media dependency theory as a theoretical framework for his research entitled "Sources of Information for the Egyptian Universities' Students about September 11 and its Aftermath" The theory states that the more dependent an individual is on the media for having his or her needs fulfilled, the more important the media will be to that person. The person's dependency on the media as source of information increases during the times of crises in which they become the main sources of information. To examine the main hypotheses Abd El-Gaffar interviewed 300 respondents from five Egyptian universities. The research findings indicate that Egyptian universities' students rely heavily on CNN as the main international source of information about September 11 while Al Jazeera TV represents the main regional source for these events followed by both the Egyptian television and Egyptian national press as major information sources in Egypt. Iseed (2001) founds in his review article on "the role of media in expanding deviation in the age of globalization and Internet" that most communication scholars agree upon the fact that media propagate violence and crimes among adults. He also notes that Western media are consciously attempt to damage and distort the Islamic values and civilization in a very systematic way and its negative impact will remain until the Arab media develop a strategic plan capable of addressing the Arab issues according to the Islamic culture heritage. Gallall (2002) assumes in his research on "Arab and Islamic Issues in Arab media" that if we seek to understand how Western media portray Arab and Islamic issues it is important to study how Arab media cover Arab Islamic issues. He believes that a strong relationship exists between Arab media's coverage of Arab and Islamic issues and that of the Western media. The author who depends on the news framing theory as a theoretical framework concludes that Arab Israeli conflict represents the most salient issue in all Arab media (print and electronic). He also notes that although

Arab newspapers and TV channels differ in their news values, the general attitude of Arab media toward the Arab-Israel conflict and the main issues discussed are similar. Siddiqi's (2002) research on "Terrorism: A Cross-Cultural Perspective A Comparative Study of Seven Newspapers from Around the World" addresses four questions: 1) how extensively did the selected newspapers cover the issue of terrorism, 2) how did each newspaper treat the events of September 11th, 2001, 3) to what extent the newspapers agree or disagree with the cause of terrorism, and about combating it?, and 4) what primary national and or international sources did the newspapers rely on? The newspapers that were selected are The New York Times, The Times of London, The China Daily, Saudi Gazette, The Strait Times of Singapore Friday Report of Pakistan, and Dawat; an Indian newspaper. The selection of newspapers was based primarily on availability and representatives. The time frame for the study was three-month period starting from September 12th, 2001 and ending on December 13th 2001. Siddiqi revealed two important findings: 1) while The Times, The Strait Times, Saudi Gazette and China Daily disagree somewhat with the positions taken by The New York Times on the question of causes of terrorism and counter-terrorism efforts, Dawat and Friday report disagreed considerably with the position taken by The New York Times, 2) there are significant differences in the way terrorism is defined and understood in various cultures. The meaning of terrorism in the U.S. has been limited to refer to any action by a group or individual that threatens the hegemony of the US, whereas in other cultures especially in the Middle East and Asia, the emphasis seems to be on a broader definition of terrorism.

Amer, and El Metwally (2002) conducted their research entitled "Arab Image vs. Western Image in Egyptian Partisan Press: A Comparative Study of Press Coverage of September 11th, 2001". The research focuses on how the opposition press in Egypt presents the position of both the US and Egypt toward the events of September 11th, 2001. Two hypotheses were tested: 1) press coverage of crisis contribute to formulate an urgent and distorted images about what the crisis is, its causes and consequences, and 2) the image of Arabs as presented in the Egyptian opposition press is characterized with positive characteristics as capable to manage the crisis and its aftermath while the image of U.S. is depicted negatively. As noted in the terrorism literature, media ignore the historical, social context of the terroristic acts and concentrate on the events per se. In other words, the press isolates the incidents from the environment that produces them, the causes and the potential impact. Accordingly, the research offers strong support to the first hypothesis, however, it does not lend the same support for the second hypothesis.

Media Policy Options on Terrorism Coverage

With the general belief that media coverage of terrorism has a contagion effect, it comes as no surprise that the media are seen as having an important role to play in any effort to combat terrorism. Another group that takes a similar position is the contagion theorists. The debate around the relation between media and terrorism aroused many questions including: What form should the media's role take? And at whose behest should the necessary policing of the media come? (Eke, and Alali, 1991, 8). It is obvious that terrorist acts throughout the world have resulted in bans and limitations on news reporting in many countries. These have ranged from the temporary suspension of liberties to the strict censorship of the press. Most of the controversy over press coverage of terrorism revolves who should control the news

and on the basis of what objectives. However, we cannot regard suppression of such reporting as being justified. To suppress the news for whatever reason, good or bad, violates the fundamental principle that govern a free press in a free society (Gerbner, 1988,11).

It has also been certain that the role of media in forming public opinion towards any type of conflict- wars, terrorist and violent acts, crises.. etc is problematic. Recently, and while the US is bombing Afghanistan, Secretary of the state Colin Powel met Oct. 3, 2001 with the Emir of Qatar and asked him to restrain Al Jazeera Satellite Television, citing specifically the channel's rebroadcast of the 1998 bin Laden interview and charging that it invited anti-American guests, who point to U. S. foreign policy as being behind the Sept. 11 attack. (Al Mirazi, 2002). Israel has also used to deny the access of the journalists and media people the right to report its massacres against the Palestinians. This measure has occurred many times during the second Intifada. Moreover, the Palestinian television building has been destroyed by the Israeli airstrike with a justification that it tends to encourage and support the potential terrorists. In the Arab world, the temporary terrorist acts give the Arab governments an opportunity to justify the continuity of press restrictions with the purpose of protecting the national security interests as well as combating terrorism. However, it seems that persistent analyses of how the media should and should not respond to terrorism will continue as long as such activities take place, and we may never come up with satisfactory answers. Anderson (1993, 1333) believes that press must fulfill its duty to expose and present information objectively, thereby serving the public good. Censorship by government officials would be a grievous mistake, and so-called general guidelines are too often vague or unsuited to particular events to be useful in these kinds of situations. However, when lives are at stake, journalistic self-restraint may be necessary.

What are the major policy options for a democratic society with regard to the media's response to terrorism? First, there is a policy of laissez faire. This assumes that no specific steps should be taken with regard to media coverage of terrorism. A second policy option is some form of media censorship or statuary regulation. The third option on media policy on terrorism coverage and the approach most favored by the more responsible media organizations is voluntary self-restraint to try to avoid the dangers of manipulations and exploitation by terrorist group (Wilkinson, 1997, 60). For several reasons especially with the two theories of terrorism I suggested it is certainly difficult to disallow media from uncovering the truth regarding the violation of any international law under the guise of misleading allegations. The forms of the global injustice as well as the terrorist acts of the colonial occupier must form the base and substance of any free press in the free and democratic society. Media people have to report these issues to the fullest extent possible to make the people aware of dangerous effects of these forms of terrorism. On the other hand, dealing with terrorist acts perpetrated by individuals or groups is a matter of journalist's self- sense of social responsibility. One can not develop some general rules in this regard, as every terrorist incident has its unique settings. It is a matter of the journalist's self-judgment.

Suggestions for Further Investigations/Studies

While media – terrorism literature provides some general findings on how media portray violence and terrorism and how the Western media in particular contribute to mobilizing international public opinion to act against Arabs and Muslims, and view

them as terrorists they do not offer a comprehensive approach to understand media-terrorism relationship. The problems of violence and terrorism are of a cultural and ideological sensitivity as there are many perspectives that define and interpret these phenomena and different media as well as different persons will never share similar position and attitudes. Bearing this in mind I suggest the future Arab research on violence and terrorism has to deal with the following research areas: 1) how and why the terrorists use media, " uses and gratification research", 2) how Arab media characterize acts and perpetrators of political violence and terrorism, " comparative media studies", 3) what is the impact of media coverage of violence and terrorism on public opinion "effects research", 4) how various segments of Arab public opinion react to terrorist acts " public opinion research", 5) how the opponents and supporters of terrorists use Internet to manipulate the audiences " new media research", 6) is there a cause-effect relationship between media coverage of terrorism and the contagion awareness, and interference effects, " longitudinal and experimental and quasi - experimental studies", 7) what is the impact of media coverage of terrorism on crisis management and decision making, " political communication research", 8) are there terrorists - media relationship before and after acts of terrorism: motives and consequences " media relations studies", 10) how various Arab subcultures differ in defining terrorism, " media and cultural studies", 11) what types of media ethics, policies, regulations in different Arab countries towards violence and terrorism " media policies studies, 12) why the Arab image has been portrayed in Western media with terroristic implications, " image research", 13) why there is a gap between Arab and Western governments' position towards the international allies against the groups of international terrorism, " international terrorism research", 14) what is the credibility of local and international sources of news media for the Arab people in times of terrorism, " comparative credibility studies" and, 15) how American, Israeli and Arab media portray the violence of Arab-Israeli conflict, " news frames research".

Conclusions

This report has reviewed and evaluated the current Arab literature on media, violence and terrorism and presented global synthesis and critical assessment of the research and scholarly studies. The report has shown the rarity of the Arab serious scholarly work in the area of media and terrorism. It also highlighted the need for serious academic research projects in which Arab communication scholars are required to contribute to the understanding of the most critical issues facing the international system. Two theories of international terrorism and ways to combat it were suggested

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(١٧)	"إستراتيجية حلف الأطلنطي في الشرق الأوسط" لواء . أحمد عبد الحليم	(يوليو ١٩٨٩)
(١٨)	"آفاق النظام الدولي في التسعينات" د. محمد السيد سعيد	(أغسطس ١٩٨٩)
(١٩)	"About Mathematical Thinking Political Science" **Dr. Hazem A. Hosny**	(Aug. 1989)
(٢٠)	"رسائل الماجستير والدكتوراه في العلوم السياسية التي أجيزت بالكلية في الفترة (يناير ٨٦- ديسمبر ٨٨)" توثيق وتحليل : د. عطية حسين أفندي	(سبتمبر ١٩٨٩)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(٢١)	"Histoire et Methodologei Des Relations Internationales en Egypte Apercu General" **Dr.Hassan Nafaa**	(Oct. 1989)
(٢٢)	**"الدور السياسي للإسلام في السنغال : دارسة تحليلية للطريقة المريدية"** د. إجلال رأفت	(نوفمبر ١٩٨٩)
(٢٣)	"The Impact of the Middle East Conflict on the Israeli Society " **Dr. Irina Zviagelskais**	(Dec. 1990)
(٢٤)	**"خواطر في السياسة والاقتصاد"** أ. وهيب مسيحة	(يناير ١٩٩٠)
(٢٥)	**"السياسة في اللغة والعلم"** د. إبراهيم شلبي	(فبراير ١٩٩٠)
(٢٦)	**"التوحدية : دراسة للجماعات المصلحية في تطورها المعاصر"** د. إكرام بدر الدين	(مارس ١٩٩٠)
(٢٧)	**"نشأة وتطور وزارة الخارجية المصرية"** أ.عمر عز الرجال	(أبريل ١٩٩٠)
(٢٨)	**"النزاع السنغالي الموريتاني : دراسة تحليلية لمسبباته المحلية والدولية"** د.اجلال رافت	(مايو١٩٩٠)
(٢٩)	**"الكويت وأعاده تسجيل ناقلات النفط أبان الحرب العراقية الإيرانية"** د.سليمان ماجد الشاهين	(مايو١٩٩٠)
(٣٠)	**"الحماية الخاصة للمبعوثين الدبلوماسيين في القانون الدولي"** د.خير الدين عبد اللطيف	(يونيو١٩٩٠)
(٣١)	**"تجربة التكامل والوحدة الأوروبية هل هي قابلة للتطبيق في الواقع العربي؟"** د.حسن نافعة	(يونيو١٩٩٠)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(٣٢)	"International liability for Injuries caused by technological Activities" **DR.Ahmed Abdel-Wanis Sheta.**	(July 1990)
(٣٣)	**"البيروسترويكا والتعددية السياسية في الاتحاد السوفيتي"** د.جالينا مود ألوفا	(أكتوبر١٩٩٠)
(٣٤)	**"مصر والجماعة الاقتصادية الأوروبية ١٩٩٢"** **(تقرير عن ندوة)** د.أحمد يوسف أحمد د.نوال قاسم	(أكتوبر١٩٩٠)
(٣٥)	**"النظام الدولي وسياسات نزع السلاح في أفريقيا"** د.علي الدين هلال د.مصطفي علوي	(نوفمبر١٩٩٠)
(٣٦)	**"تطور المجلس النيابي في مصر:دراسة توثيقية"** د.أحمد فارس عبد المنعم	(ديسمبر١٩٩٠)
(٣٧)	**"المصريون في النمسا"** **(دراسة استطلاعية ميدانية)** هانزنج.هينريش علي الصاوي	(يناير ١٩٩١)
(٣٨)	**"عدم الانحياز وتحديات التسعينات"** **(مجموعة دراسات)** تحرير.د.مصطفي علوي	(يناير ١٩٩١)
(٣٩)	"An Evaluation of Arab Integration Schemes" **DR.Wadouda Badran**	(Feb. 1991)
(٤٠)	**"بعض الاقتراحات العملية لزيادة كفاءة و فاعلية مجلس الشعب"** (مجموعة باحثين)	(فبراير١٩٩١)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(٤١)	"مفهوم انتقال السلطة" (دراسة نظرية) ا.صلاح سالم زرنوقة	(مارس١٩٩١)
(٤٢)	"النظام المحلي المصري بين المركزية واللامركزية" (دراسة مقارنة لقوانين الإدارة المحلية من ١٩٦٠-١٩٨٨) ا.سمير عبد الوهاب	(مارس١٩٩١)
(٤٣)	"حزب البعث ومشكلة الأقليات" (دراسة لأفكار ميشيل عفلق وممارساته) د.نيفين عبد المنعم مسعد	(أبريل ١٩٩١)
(٤٤)	"التطور الديمقراطي في المغرب وأفاق التسعينات" د.هدي ميتكيس	(مايو١٩٩١)
(٤٥)	"التعددية في النظام السياسي الياباني" د.إكرام بدر الدين	(مايو١٩٩١)
(٤٦)	"تطور تدريس علم السياسة في جامعة الملك سعود" د.محمد أحمد علي مفتي	(يونيو١٩٩١)
(٤٧)	"سياسة إعادة البناء (البيروسترويكا) في القوات المسلحة السوفيتية وموقف العسكريين من هذه السياسة" د.خير الدين عبد اللطيف	(أغسطس١٩٩١)
(٤٨)	"الدولة الأفريقية في المحيط الهندي والأمن الأفريقي" د.رجاء سليم	(سبتمبر١٩٩١)
(٤٩)	"نظريات العنف والثورة" (دراسة تحليلية تقويمية) د.متروك هايس الفالح	(أكتوبر١٩٩١)
(٥٠)	"التقرير النهائي لمشروع: التعليم والسياسة والتنمية" د.علي الدين هلال د.أماني قنديل	(نوفمبر١٩٩١)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(٥١)	**"الجهاز الإداري للمنظمة الدولية"** **(الأمانة العامة للأمم المتحدة)** د.عطية حسين أفندي	(ديسمبر ١٩٩١)
(٥٢)	**"بناء مقياس لشدة العنف السياسي في النظم العربية"** د. حسنين توفيق إبراهيم	(يناير ١٩٩٢)
(٥٣)	**"مصر والجماعة الاقتصادية الأوروبية"** **(تقرير عن ندوة)** د. ودودة بدران	(فبراير ١٩٩٢)
(٥٤)	**"الأمن القومي العربي وأمن الخليج"** **(قائمة ببلوجرافية مختارة)** أ. أحمد عبد الحميد عدوي	(مارس ١٩٩٢)
(٥٥)	**"منظمات العرب الأمريكيين والقضايا العربية"** د. هالة سعودي	(مارس ١٩٩٢)
(٥٦)	"Water, War and Peace : Managing Conflicts Over river Besins in the Middle east" **Dr. Hassan Bakr**	(April 1992)
(٥٧)	**"واجب طاعة الحاكم وعلاقته بمفاهيم المشاركة السياسية في الإسلام"** د. علا عبد العزيز أبو زيد	(مايو ١٩٩٢)
(٥٨)	**"الإطار السياسي لحرب أكتوبر"** د. مصطفي علوي	(أكتوبر ١٩٩٢)
(٥٩)	**"بعض جوانب أزمة البحث العلمي في مصر"** د. جمال زهران	(نوفمبر ١٩٩٢)
(٦٠)	**"تحليل انتخابات الرئاسة الأمريكية لعام ١٩٩٢"** د. هالة سعودي	(ديسمبر ١٩٩٢)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(٦١)	"تطـور تجـربة الشـوري في قطـر خـلال عشـرين عامـا (١٩٧٢- ١٩٩٢)" د. يوسف محمد عبيدان	(يناير ١٩٩٣)
(٦١*)	"أثـر قـيام السـوق الأوروبـية الموحـدة بعـد عـام ١٩٩٢ علــي العلاقات الاقتصادية العربية" د. هبة أحمد نصار	(يناير ١٩٩٣)
(٦٢)	"الفساد السياسي في النظام السياسي التركي ١٩٨٣ - ١٩٩١" د. جلال عبد الله معوض	(فبراير ١٩٩٣)
(٦٣)	"Globalization and the Two Spheres of Security" **Dr. Ali E. Hillal Dessouki**	(March 1993)
(٦٤)	"The Iranian – Turkish Contest Over Central Asia" **Mr. Ibrahim Arafat**	(April 1993)
(٦٥)	"الأمن القومي العربي ومنطقة القرن الأفريقي" د. إجلال رأفت	(مايو ١٩٩٣)
(٦٦)	"السلطة ومبدأ الطاعة بين الفكر المسيحي والفكر الإسلامي : دراسة مقارنة" د. نيفين عبد الخالق	(يونيو ١٩٩٣)
(٦٧)	"خبرة عملية تدمير القدرات العراقية في مجال أسلحة الدمار الشامل" د. نادية محمود مصطفي	(يوليو ١٩٩٣)
(٦٨)	"سياسات الرفاة الاقتصادي والاجتماعي في قطر : طبيعتها وإنجازاتها وآثارها السياسية" د. عبد الكريم حمود الدخيل	(أغسطس ١٩٩٣)
(٦٩)	"السياسة والحكم في الإسلام : قائمة ببلوجرافية مختارة" أ. أحمد عبد الحميد عدوي	(سبتمبر ١٩٩٣)
(٧٠)	"المسلمون في يوغسلافيا (سابقا) بين جدلية الإثني والديني" د. هدي ميتكيس	(أكتوبر ١٩٩٣)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(٧١)	"دور الأحزاب الدينية في تشكيل الائتلافات الحزبية في إسرائيل ١٩٦٩ – ١٩٩٢" أ. عبد العزيز محمود شادي	(أكتوبر ١٩٩٣)
(٧٢)	"الديمقراطية الاجتماعية : بديل تكتيكي أم استراتيجي للمستقبل؟" (دراسة نقدية – تحليلية) د. خالد محمود الكومي	(نوفمبر ١٩٩٣)
(٧٣)	"أطروحة حول جامعة القرن ٢١" د. محمود محفوظ	(نوفمبر ١٩٩٣)
(٧٤)	"الأبعاد السياسية لمفهوم التعددية : قراءة في واقع الدول القطرية العربية واستقراء لمستقبلها" د. نيفين عبد الخالق	(ديسمبر ١٩٩٣)
(٧٤*)	"مفهوم التعددية في الأدبيات الغربية المعاصرة : مراجعة نقدية" د. جابر سعيد عوض	(ديسمبر ١٩٩٣)
(٧٥)	"التعددية وقضايا التطور السياسي في دول أفريقيا الإسلامية" د. حمدي عبد الرحمن حسن	(يناير ١٩٩٤)
(٧٦)	"تطور السلطة القضائية في مصر (١٩٥٢ – ١٩٩٣)" د. أحمد فارس عبد المنعم	(فبراير ١٩٩٤)
(٧٧)	"الانتخابات النيابية اللبنانية : دراسة تحليلية" د. حسنين توفيق إبراهيم	(مارس ١٩٩٤)
(٧٨)	"الإصلاح الإداري في الدول العربية من منظور مقارن" تحليل لرسائل الماجستير والدكتوراه في الإدارة العامة د. عطية حسين أفندي	(أبريل ١٩٩٤)
(٧٩)	"البعد الاتصالي في سياسات بعض الأطراف الأجنبية تجاه المسألة اللبنانية وتحديات الأمن القومي" د. عبد الخبير عطا	(مايو ١٩٩٤)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(٨٠)	"المنهج الفوقي للتغيير السياسي : دراسة للحالة السودانية (١٩٨٩ – ١٩٩٢)" د. حمدي عبد الرحمن حسن	(يونيو ١٩٩٤)
(٨١)	"الإسلام والتعددية في تركيا" د. جلال عبد الله معوض	(يوليو ١٩٩٤)
(٨٢)	"الإعلام والسياسة في عالم متغير" د. محمد سعد أبو عامود	(يوليو ١٩٩٤)
(٨٣)	"السياسية المصرية وعدم الانحياز في مفترق الطرق" د. محمد نعمان جلال	(أغسطس ١٩٩٤)
(٨٤)	"أبعاد التطور السياسي في كومنولث الدول المستقلة (آفاق المستقبل)" د. عزمي خليفة	(سبتمبر ١٩٩٤)
(٨٥)	"التطورات الدولية الراهنة ومفهوم السيادة الوطنية" د. أحمد الرشيدي	(سبتمبر ١٩٩٤)
(٨٦)	"جامعة الدول العربية وحقوق الإنسان" د. محمد نعمان جلال	(أكتوبر ١٩٩٤)
(٨٧)	"المشاركة السياسية في دول الخليج العربي" (تحيل تاريخي ورؤية مستقبلية) د. مريم سلطان لوتاه	(أكتوبر ١٩٩٤)
(٨٨)	"الحركة الإسلامية في المغرب والمرجعية المشتركة" د. هدي ميتكيس	(نوفمبر ١٩٩٤)
(٨٩)	"مصر والمؤتمر الدولي للسكان والتنمية" د. محمد سعد أبو عامود	(نوفمبر ١٩٩٤)
(٨٩*)	"صعود اليمين المتطرف في فرنسا في الثمانينات" د. هدي جمال عبد الناصر	(نوفمبر ١٩٩٤)
(٩٠)	"الأكراد والتركمان في العراق : تحليل سياسي" د. جلال عبد الله معوض	(ديسمبر ١٩٩٤)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(٩١)	"مستقبل المياه في مصر : رؤية مدرسة الري المصرية" تحرير : د. عبد المنعم المشاط	(يناير ١٩٩٥)
(٩٢)	"الجذور الاجتماعية للحدود السياسية في الجزيرة العربية : محاولة لإعادة الفهم" د. مشاري عبد الرحمن النعيم	(فبراير ١٩٩٥)
(٩٣)	"العنصر الاتصالي في السياسة السكانية" (دراسة ميدانية علي القائم بالاتصال) د. نجوي الفوال	(فبراير ١٩٩٥)
(٩٤)	"رؤية طلاب الجامعات المصرية لحقوق الإنسان ، موجز لنتائج دراسة استطلاعية" د. علي الصاوي	(مارس ١٩٩٥)
(٩٥)	"مفهوم المجتمع المدني والتحولات العالمية ودراسات العلوم السياسية" د. مصطفي كامل السيد	(أبريل ١٩٩٥)
(٩٦)	"تحديات ومخاطر الشرق أوسطية" د. أحمد ثابت	(أبريل ١٩٩٥)
(٩٧)	"فرنسا والمنظومة الحزبية في خمسين عاما" (دراسة تحليلية مقارنة لديناميكية العملية الإقتراعية) د. درية شفيق بسيوني	(مايو ١٩٩٥)
(٩٨)	"الحركات الاجتماعية والسياسية في التاريخ الإسلامي" (منذ الخلافة الراشدة حتي القرن التاسع عشر) د. عبد العاطي محمد أحمد	(يونيو ١٩٩٥)
(٩٩)	"إريتريا ... ماذا بعد الاستقلال" د. محمد رضا فودة	(يوليو ١٩٩٥)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(١٠٠)	"إشكالية النظام الدستوري في المملكة المتحدة" د. هدي عبد الناصر	(أغسطس ١٩٩٥)
(١٠١)	"استخدام وسائل الإعلام والمشاركة السياسية" د. بسيوني إبراهيم حمادة	(سبتمبر ١٩٩٥)
(١٠٢)	"نحو صياغة لنظريات التنمية السياسية من منظور عربي إسلامي" د.مريم سلطان لوتاه	(أكتوبر ١٩٩٥)
(١٠٣)	"المشاركة الأوروبية-المتوسطية :دراسة وتقييم" د.أحمد ثابت	(نوفمبر١٩٩٥)
(١٠٤)	"دور وسائل الإعلام في ترتيب أولويات قضايا التعليم في الوطن العربي" د.بسيوني إبراهيم حمادة	(ديسمبر١٩٩٥)
(١٠٥)	"العلاقات الدولية علي مشارف القرن ٢١" د.بهجت قرني	(أبريل١٩٩٦)
(١٠٦)	"قضايا الأقليات في ظل الليبرالية الجديدة مع المقارنة بين موقف قيادتي حركة النهضة بتونس والجبهة الإسلامية القومية بالسودان" د.نيفين مسعد	(مايو١٩٩٦)
(١٠٧)	" تطور العلاقات التركية -الإسرائيلية في التسعينات " د.جلال معوض	(يونيو١٩٩٦)
(١٠٨)	"الأخوان المسلمون والتعددية الحزبية:قراءة في رؤية حسن البنا" د.حسنين توفيق	(يوليو١٩٩٦)
(١٠٩)	"الوظيفة العقيدية للأحزاب السياسية ذات التوجه الإسلامي في ظل سياسات التحول الديمقراطي" د.علا أبو زيد	(أغسطس١٩٩٦)

العدد	عنوان البحث ، اسم المؤلف	تاريخ الإصدار
(١١٠)	"الضمانات الدولية لحقوق الإنسان وتطبيقاتها في بعض الدساتير العربية" د.أحمد الرشيدي	(سبتمبر١٩٩٦)
(١١١)	"التنشئة السياسية للطفل المصري وصورة المستقبل" د.أحمد ثابت	(اكتوبر١٩٩٦)
(١١٢)	"السلطة القضائية و النقابات المهنية في مصر" د.أحمد فارس عبد المنعم	(نوفمبر١٩٩٦)
(١١٣)	"الانتخابات البرلمانية والتطور الديمقراطي في الوطن العربي" د. حسنين توفيق إبراهيم	(يناير ١٩٩٧)
(١١٣*)	"علاقة الخصخصة والشراكة المصرية – الأوروبية : الاستثمار الأجنبي المباشر فى مصر" د. سعاد كامل رزق	(مارس ١٩٩٧)
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